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addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of painting for ritual reasons. The coloring of the patient's face by the shaman (often with sacred substances such as pollen, specular iron ore, or white clay) is one of the important elements of the ceremonial pattern. Thus the child becomes used to seeing individuals whose faces are marked with lines of white clay or whose cheeks are decorated with symbols of the sun, moon, stars, or various constellations. 302 788 [755] [386] [531]

The men tattoo themselves but limit the area to the inner part of the arms "because there is more flesh there and it is more tender." The colors used are red and blue-black. The red is obtained from red ocher or the juice of ripe prickly pears; the black, from charcoal. The material is laid on the skin, moistened, and punched in with a cactus thorn. Typical designs are stars, constellations, and zigzag lines symbolizing lightning. Sometimes these relate to the shamanistic rites of the individual. For instance, one man who claims power from lightning has tattooed markings representative of his tutelary. But most tattooing is merely decorative. In time the designs lose their sharpness and after many years can scarcely be distinguished. 304 [386] [824] [531] [756]

The men have earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bandoleers, and pendants. Turquoise and white shell beads are worn. "The 'ancient people' [prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants] gave us the turquoise. These people were careless with the stones, and the Chiricahua pick them up." Beads are also made from the segments of a long root (*Hilaria cenchroides?*) and from the seeds of the mountain laurel. Many of these ornaments are primarily of religious and protective value. 301 [172] [824] [789]

Abalone shell, too, is used in ritual contexts and is frequently worn. "People cut out a piece, drill a hole through it, and wear it. Often they are directed to do this by a shaman after he has cured them. The shaman himself might give the abalone to the patient. A piece of it is often fastened right to the hair." [237] [755]

A sachet of mint may be worn, particularly by young men who wish to make themselves attractive to the girls. 832 302

The woman wears a two-piece dress of buckskin—an upper garment and a medium-length skirt. High-topped moccasins 291

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at the top with yucca-leaf strands. Over them a thatching of bundles of big bluestem grass or bear grass is tied, shingle style, with yucca strings. A smoke hole opens above a central fireplace. A hide, suspended at the entrance, is fixed on a cross-beam so that it may be swung forward or backward. The doorway may face in any direction. For waterproofing, pieces of hide are thrown over the outer thatching, and in rainy weather, if a fire is not needed, even the smoke hole is covered. In warm, dry weather much of the outer roofing is stripped off. It takes approximately three days to erect a sturdy dwelling of this type. These houses are "warm and comfortable, even though there is a big snow."

The interior is lined with brush and grass beds over which robes are spread. Household equipment is utilitarian and minimal. Basketry receptacles include coiled shallow trays, large twined burden baskets for gathering wild foods, and pitch-covered woven water containers. There may be a few clay pots, unpainted and only occasionally incised. There are gourd cups and hide, gourd, and wooden dishes. Surplus food and clothing are stored in undecorated, envelope-like hide receptacles (parfleches). Ready for use are a metate and a cigar-shaped mano (as often as not of ancient Pueblo manufacture), stone and bone pounders, an awl, rawhide or horsetail hair ropes and tumplines, a fire drill, and combs made of dried and folded grass or mescal leaf.

In or around the camp are objects connected with horsemanship—saddles, bridles, bits, quirts, and saddlebags. Conspicuous, too, are weapons of war and chase—the bow and arrows, quiver, bow cover, shield, wrist guard, spear, sling, flint knives, and clubs.

Ceremonial objects—the pottery drum, a deer- or elk-hoof rattle, buckskin bags of pollen and other sacred substances, and the particular paraphernalia attached to the rites of the individuals of the household—are present but are less likely to be displayed.

The dwelling may contain a musical instrument or two not

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or they would see it. She would make a buckskin string with two pieces of turquoise tied to it and give it to anyone who was afraid of the snake. That one had to wear it on the right foot below the ankle.

It is quite as important that the child understand the ways of the cloud-dwelling Thunder People whose arrows are chipped flints found throughout Chiricahua country. The children are directed to make a respectful spitting noise when the lightning flashes and to refrain from eating during a storm. Sage is pointed out as a protective plant which may be worn in the hair during a storm. Nothing red should be displayed at such a time, they are told, for red is associated with the lightning flash and may draw it.

While the child is very young, adults take the proper steps to protect him from danger. But, as he grows old enough to understand ideas and to react consistently to them, more responsibility for his own safety is transferred to him. Thus, quite small children not only depend upon the amulets provided for them but pick and wear the sage which wards off the lightning, dispose of a loose tooth, and extend due respect to masked dancers. Advice and guidance are freely given, but the response which constitutes growth and fulfilment is, as far as possible, elicited from the child himself. The prevailing theme in things nonritual as well as ritual is that the youngster must learn to do for himself tomorrow what is done for him today.

Since most ceremonies are curative rites and are of frequent occurrence, it is almost inevitable that, while the child is still very young, he will witness a full-length ceremony. Very often the first shamanistic performance a child remembers is one in which he was the patient:

> At this time, when I was about six years old, I saw the first ceremony I can remember. It was given for me. I don't know what was the matter with me, but at that time I was very slim and underweight, and it may have been for a general run-down condition. I know I was taken to the shaman's house. I was lying on a bed in the middle of the room. My grandmother was there. My mother, but not my father, was there. My father couldn't be there because my mother's mother was present. Other people whom I did not know were sitting around. The man who was curing me sang. Later on I was told that he had forbidden me to eat the head and liver of any animal. Whenever they had liver after that, they had something else for me. At big gatherings where there was head, I would not eat any of it.

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shamans who obtain supernatural power from our planet, the earth is not personified, nor does it appear as a supernatural in the myths.

What attention is given to the sun, stars, and constellations by those who do not claim supernatural power from them is for the practical purpose of computing the passage of time and the change of seasons.

Much more determinate is the place of thunder (or lightning):

This is what I have heard about the lightning and thunder. I don't know what kind of people they are, but they are people. My parents and even older people used to tell me that they were just like humans in appearance. Some of them are good people and some are bad, just as people are here on earth. A good thunderstorm passes over with a good time for all. It does no harm; no one gets struck. But the bad ones go along hitting people, knocking down trees and destroying things. They say that the homes of these people are in the clouds. Thunder People is what they call them.

Lightning is the arrow of the Thunder People. I hear ceremonial songs, and in them they mention the "arrows of lightning." Not in my father's time or my grandfather's time did the Chiricahua make arrowheads of flint that were good to kill anything with. The flints they used are found around and are called "lightning's arrow" or "thunder's arrow." Some people say that they were made by men, but some Chiricahua say that flints like these are shot during a thunderstorm by the Thunder People.

. . . . They are persons and you can get power from them. They have children; they are just like regular people. Any of them can cause you to be struck by lightning. . . . . The Thunder People send lightning to punish some. Or, if someone did something bad to a man who "knew" Thunder, he could send lightning to avenge himself.

The flash is the flight of the "arrow," and the noise is the shouting of the real person, the one who is back of lightning and thunder.

At one time, runs a tale, the Thunder People acted as hunters for humans and with their arrows killed all the game the tribe could use. Ingratitude moved them to withdraw their support. It is important to court no risk of offending these well-armed inhabitants of the sky:

During a thunderstorm we go, "*pi3, pi3,*" in imitation of the bird called *pi3e* [nighthawk]. This bird, a speckled one, flies around on cloudy days near evening. It swoops and darts around so fast that it is hard even for lightning to hit it. Therefore, we use its call. It is just like making believe that we are that bird during the lightning, and then it is hard for it to hit us too.

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411 Now the bow and arrows (or the gun) are held against the chest, pointing first
788 downward to the left, then upward to the right. At the same time face the east
789 and pray. The weapon is next worked over the right shoulder, across the back, and down to the left hand.

Then the bow string is run through the mouth, and some of the "juice" of the string is sucked off. This is spit into the palm of the left hand, and crosses are made with the juice as before. Then the prayer is repeated.

778 *Sacred places and summary.*—Besides the homes of the Moun-
[772] tain People, places with markings on the walls or on rocks may be considered sacred. "I have heard the old men tell of one cave which has the sun, moon, stars, and Mountain Spirits on the walls. . . . . They pray when they see this."

There are also wayside shrines and places of offering:

It is a pile of rock and stones about four feet high and eight feet wide. There are four holes in the center. The foundation is east and west, and the holes are
[782] running toward the east. You pick up a stone or leaves and hold this to the four corners—east, south, west, and north—while you pray. Then you drop what you have in the hole. It's asking a blessing. They take this to be a holy place.

We were on a trip by horse and we came to one of these. The older people told us younger ones what to do. We were on horseback. We rode around the left side of the shrine and dropped the stone in and then came right back. We could have done it on foot too. I have heard ceremonial songs, a long time ago, mention these shrines. The name means that rocks churn about in this place.

[773] One informant ascribed the origin of sacred shrines to the mytho-
[777] logical figure, Kantaneiro, who "told the Indians to do this for long life and good luck."

These shrines are now used primarily as a place of contemplation and prayer by persons starting on a perilous trip:

There is a ceremonial place on that mountaintop. The people go there before they leave on a long or dangerous journey. It is believed that, if you go to the place and drop a stone on the pile already there or throw on a sprig of a juniper tree, you will return safely.

128 In a society where shamanism is so broadly construed, to be sure that every possible rite is represented in a collection, it would be necessary to have the perfect confidence of everyone in the community and to work with every adult. What has been
[787] presented is admittedly only a sampling. Comments and stories pertaining to ceremonies obtained through supernatural experi-

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323 [463] [438] things. They agreed on some reasonable settlement. Some unmarried women got along this way. Men did not assist in pottery-making.

According to another recital, a vegetal binder was actually mixed with the clay in some instances:

Get red or dark clay and grind it on a metate. See that no pebbles or sticks are in it. Then get a low-growing cactus plant. Split it and boil down some of it. Get the juice from it, mix it with the clay, and work it until it gets to the right consistency. Just work the bottom from a lump and then build the side out of coils. The inside is smoothed out with the hands. The outside is smoothed with the hands too but is finished with a bone. Handles are sometimes put on the sides.

[531] Pots are sometimes designed. They are not painted but are incised with the fingernail. One design is a series of circles connected by a line. Another is a band across the pot with vertical lines on it. Sometimes they put a saw-toothed design on. They also make a clay water jug with lines running around it.

When it is the right shape, they leave the pot in the sun to dry. Often this takes several days. They strike it with a stick to hear whether it makes the proper sound. Then they know it is ready to fire. They build a fire. When it has burned down some, they put logs over it. They put the pots on the logs and keep them there for about an hour and then turn them.

Different shapes are made. There is a tall cooking pot. After it is used for a while it turns black. You can boil things in it. It is never decorated at all. The shallow ones are used for drinking, and some shallow ones are made large enough for food containers or frying pans.

415 412 824 In addition to the vessels already described, the woman makes dippers, spoons, and various receptacles of gourds, wood, and leaves:

From Old Mexico we get gourds for carrying water. We use them as dishes too, and you can drink from them. But you can't use them for cooking. The little gourds from the United States are too small and are not strong enough for use.

The bole from the oak tree is hollowed out and used for a vessel or dipper. We use the growths from the walnut tree too, or from any tree that has them. I've seen my aunt use them many a time. For a spoon we make a hollow at the end of a stick. Broad yucca leaves are used for spoons too.

412 To grind seeds and to pulverize foods that are to be preserved, the woman uses a mano and metate:

[172] Not many women make grinding-stones. They find some which have been left by a people called "the ancient people." These were not Chiricahua, according to the story. They lived in Old Mexico in cliffs and stone houses. We also call them "those who live on top" and "[square] house people." These metates

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bound on the shaft with wet sinew. Sometimes a little piñon pitch is applied to the shaft at the point where the sinew will cross. 411 [314]

One feather is put on at a time, and the tops of the feathers are affixed to the shaft first. The first feather is held in place, and the sinew is wound around its top and the shaft once. The second feather is put in position and secured at the top with one strand of sinew also. Now the third feather is put in place, and the sinew is wound around it and the shaft many times. Then the arrow is put aside that the sinew may dry and tighten. When the craftsman is ready to resume work, he fastens the bottoms of the feathers to the shaft with sinew.

Flint arrowheads are used when they can be found. There is very little chipping of arrowheads. A single informant speaks of pounding slate and using the most likely pieces for arrowheads. Another, an Eastern Chiricahua, tells of seeing "flints used as arrowheads and one rock used to shape and chip another" during his youth. But the majority of commentators agree that their tribesman made no consistent attempt to manufacture flint arrowheads: 411 324

The pieces of flint are found already shaped. The legend goes that the animals and the birds made them and used them in the fight against each other for daylight. [773] [825]

The Chiricahua did not make stone arrowheads and beads. They found them. There were many of them in their country. They can be found in anthills there, the hills of the red ants. White shell beads are found there too.

The arrowheads we have are found. They are said to have been made by a people who lived here before the Apache. . . . . These people are called the "ancient people" [Pueblo]. I don't think these people were here even in the memory of the old men. It must have been before that. [772]•

Fine long blades and points found throughout the tribal range are also considered by some to be arrows of the Thunder People. [776]

When flints are to be affixed, the shaft is split, the arrowhead is inserted, and the shaft is tightly wrapped with moistened sinew. More commonly, however, no flint is used; the wooden tip of the arrow is simply sharpened and fire hardened. Often the arrow is fluted. With a sharp stone, the arrow-maker scratches 411

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714 281 steel knives and not before.) Then he rakes together sand and builds a fire on it. When the sand is thoroughly heated, he rakes the coals away and pegs the hide down over that place. Then he scrapes the fur from the outside and pegs it down again in another place that has been heated first. Now he takes it up and cuts the hide to the size he wants his shield to be. He makes two holes and ties on a handle big enough to grasp. Sometimes he has another handle so that his arm can be fitted in too. Some men design their shields with sun symbols or other things and paint them various colors. [531]

[531] [386] [126] Many shields are without buckskin covers and have the design painted on the rawhide. One of these which I collected is painted with yellow ocher and has a black morning-star design. More elaborate and Plains-like shields are not unknown, however.

Some shields are covered tightly with buckskin; the designs are painted on the buckskin. The buckskin is sewed onto the hide. Holes are driven through the hide for the purpose of fastening the cover on. There are tail and inner wing feathers of the eagle around the edge, and there are two more eagle feathers in the center. The eagle feathers mean that the maker has power. Just a few men had shields. [237]

To give a shield marked convexity, a wet hide is pressed into a shallow hole in the ground and left to dry there. Buffalo hide is said to have been the material liked best in former times, but the supply obtainable must have been very small. Almost all the shields which informants had made or had seen made were of cowhide.

411 The warrior may prepare another weapon, the war club. A round stone, the size of a man's fist, is covered with rawhide and connected by a short length of flexible rawhide to a wooden handle. The handle is often covered with buckskin. A loop is provided at the end of the handle for the hand. A horse tail or, after the introduction of cattle, a cow's tail is often attached to the end of the handle too. Such clubs, or "stone carriers," are sometimes painted red or black, especially along the handle. While they vary in length, the average specimen seems to be approximately twenty inches long from stone to handle end. [237] [531]

Less frequently another type of war club, really a hand ax, is made. A grooved stone ax head (more often than not of ancient Pueblo manufacture) is inserted into a handle which has been split to receive it. Pitch has been applied to the inner surface of [172]

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MESCALERO

MATERIAL CULTURE

It will be understood that a people who lived by hunting and gathering, whose contacts with nature were so close and exacting, and whose food quest demanded much movement, could not develop a very elaborate material culture. The characteristic dwelling of these Apache tribes was a dome-shaped structure covered with grass thatching, hides, or bark. Household utensils included a pitch-covered woven water jar, coiled basket trays, and large burden baskets of twine work. There were dippers and spoons of split gourds, and ladles of split mountain-sheep horn. Metates and manos were found in the surrounding country and brought to camp, or crude ones were fashioned by the Apache themselves. For household purposes the Apache made rock pounders and stone axes hafted to wooden handles. Occasionally an Apache woman made a few clay pots, but because of the breakage of this ware that attended the roving life, it was found to be an unprofitable procedure. On the march these people carried water containers made from the stomachs or intestines of animals.

There was a distaff-type twisting tool which wound together buffalo or horse hair into rope. Ropes of twisted rawhide were also widely used. Long strips of yucca and mescal leaves were used for binding material. Sinew from the loin and leg of the larger game animals was shredded for thread. Women had a special rawhide rope for wood-carrying and some had a special conveyor of wood and rawhide for this purpose.

The lower leg bone of the deer was ground down to make a drill. Later the iron-tipped arrow was used as a boring tool.

In connection with the horse complex, the men made their own whips, saddles, stirrups, cinches, bridles, saddle bags, and even made rawhide bags which were tied over the hoofs to prevent or cure lameness of horses.

For purposes of grooming, combs of mountain mahogany *(Cercocarpus montanus)* and brushes of folded and pounded mescal or sotol leaves were made.